

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /026 W

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R 111256Z SEP 75

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2982

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 23365

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, US, NATO, FR

SUBJECT: CSCE IMPLEMENTATION

REF: (A) STATE 207036; (B) NATO 4557; (C) PARIS 21091

BEGIN SUMMARY: QUAI OFFICIALS DESCRIBE FRENCH PREPARATIONS FOR CSCE IMPLEMENTATION TO BE IN VERY PRELIMINARY STAGE. FRENCH DO INTEND TO NEGOTIATE SPECIFIC BILATERAL ACCORDS WITH CSCE PARTICIPANTS ON CONCRETE IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES IN COURSE OF NEXT TWELVE MONTHS. NO SUCH ACCORD WITH THE USSR IS UNDER DISCUSSION AS YET. HOWEVER, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT VERY GENERAL CSCE-RELATED TEXT MIGHT COME OUT OF GISCARD'S MOSCOW TRIP. FRENCH WILL CONTINUE TO RESIST INSTITUTIONALIZED BLOC-TO-BLOC CSCE IMPLEMENTATION BUT MAY EASE THEIR RESISTANCE ON COORDINATION OF WESTERN CSCE PROJECTS BEFORE BELGRADE MEETING. HOWEVER, FRENCH SUGGEST THAT THEY MAY WELL WELCOME DISCRETE INFORMAL BUT REGULAR BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS ON CSCE. END SUMMARY.

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1. QUAI OFFICIALS ASSOCIATED WITH CSCE HAVE CONVEYED TO EMBOFF FOLLOWING SUPPLEMENTARY IMPRESSIONS OF STATE OF FRENCH THINKING ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION.

2. QUAI, WE ARE TOLD, IS STILL IN VERY PRELIMINARY STAGE OF GEARING UP FOR CSCE FOLLOW-UP. ANDREANI, QUAI DIRECTOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, IS THINKING OF GIVING QUAI'S SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN AFFAIRS DIVISION (OMNES) PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL CSCE FOLLOW-UP WORK. OTHER QUAI OFFICIALS FEEL THAT THIS TASK IS TOO WIDE-RANGING, COMPLEX AND TECHNICAL TO BE MANAGED WITHIN LIMITED JURISDICTION AND STAFF CAPACITY OF THIS AREA OFFICE: CONCERNED ONLY WITH FRENCH RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET BLOC. THESE QUAI OFFICIALS WOULD THEREFORE PREFER CREATION OF A SMALL SPECIAL CSCE FOLLOW-UP STAFF AT THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY'S LEVEL, PERHAPS ATTACHED TO ANDREANI'S OFFICE.

3. IN VIEW THESE ORGANIZATIONAL UNCERTAINTIES, QUAI ALSO HAS NOT YET WORKED OUT DETAILED SUBSTANTIVE APPROACH TO FOLLOW-UP, BEYOND GENERAL PROPOSITION, MOST RECENTLY REFLECTED IN NATO FOLLOW-UP DISCUSSION, THAT FRANCE WOULD OPPOSE ANY TREND TOWARD CSCE INSTITUTIONALIZATION, BE IT IN EAST-WEST, NATO OR EVEN IN EC-NINE CONTEXT. ALTHOUGH THE RECENT ROME MEETING OF THE EC-NINE POLITICAL DIRECTORS DID PRODUCE A MODEST MECHANISM FOR CSCE FOLLOW-UP CONSULTATION, OUR SOURCES STRESS THAT FRANCE HAD IN FACT HOPED TO AVOID EVEN THIS DEGREE OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION. BASIC QUAI RATIONALE IS THAT SINCE ACTIVE CSCE NEGOTIATIONS ARE NOW OVER AND SINCE FRANCE HAD FOR SO LONG RESISTED SETTING UP PERMANENT MACHINERY, IT WOULD BE INCONSISTENT FOR FRENCH TO CONSENT NOW TO TIGHTLY COORDINATED WESTERN SETUP IMMEDIATELY AFTER HELSINKI

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SUMMIT. OUR SOURCES SUGGEST THAT THIS FRENCH ATTITUDE MAY EASE UP NOTICEABLY IN PRACTICE IN ABOUT A YEAR WHEN PREPARATIONS FOR THE BELGRADE MEETING OF SENIOR OFFICIALS WILL INDEED REQUIRE A MORE CONSISTENT WESTERN NEGOTIATING APPROACH.

4. FOR THE PRESENT, THE QUAI INTENDS TO PUT ITS MAIN EMPHASIS ON CIRCULATING THE CSCE FINAL ACT TO ALL MINISTERS CONCERNED IN PARIS TO DEVELOP A CONCRETE, INTERNALLY COORDINATED SET OF FRENCH CSCE FOLLOW-UP OBJECTIVES. THIS PROCESS IS EXPECTED TO TAKE MOST OF THE FALL AND IS EXPECTED TO RESULT IN SERIES OF FAIRLY SPECIFIC NEGOTIATIONS WITH OTHER CSCE SIGNATORIES ON BILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION OF SPECIFIC PROJECTS FLOWING FROM THE FINAL ACT.

5. OUR SOURCES CLAIM THAT, FOR THE PRESENT, NO SUCH EXCHANGES HAVE TAKEN PLACE WITH THE USSR, WHICH MIGHT, FOR INSTANCE, RESULT IN THE SIGNATURE OF ANY FAR-RANGING USSR-FRENCH ACCORDS ON CSCE DURING GISCARD'S FORTHCOMING OFFICIAL VISIT IN MOSCOW. HOWEVER, PREPARATIONS FOR VISIT ARE IN PRELIMINARY STAGE. IF USSR PRESENTED A CONFIDENTIAL

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SUFFICIENTLY GENERAL BILATERAL CSCE TEXT TO GISCARD, OR OFFERED SPECIFIC CONCESSIONS OF IMPORTANCE TO THE FRENCH (I.E., READING ROOMS IN MOSCOW), OUR SOURCES THINK THAT THE POSSIBILITY SHOULD NOT BE EXCLUDED THAT SUCH DOCUMENT MIGHT BE SIGNED IN MOSCOW.

6. OUR CONTACTS ARE FULLY IN ACCORD THAT, IN THIS AND OTHER ASPECTS CSCE IMPLEMENTATION, SOME LOOSE, INFORMAL WESTERN COORDINATION WILL BE USEFUL, EVEN NECESSARY. IN THIS CONNECTION QUAI WAS "ENCOURAGED" BY RECENT REVISED, MORE SUPPLE US APPROACH ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION PRESENTED IN NATO, AS WELL AS BY RELATED INDICATIONS OF US RECEPTIVITY TO FLEXIBLE WESTERN IMPLEMENTATION TACTICS. IN

THIS CONNECTION OUR SOURCES STRESSED THAT QUAI HAD NO BASIC OBJECTIONS TO COORDINATING CBM NOTIFICATION IN NATO, BUT REITERATED THAT MOST OTHER FOLLOW-UP ISSUES SHOULD BE LEFT LARGELY TO NATIONAL DISCRETION AND SHOULD CERTAINLY NOT BE APPROACHED ON A BLOC-TO-BLOC BASIS.

7. THAT BEING SAID, OUR CONTACTS WERE NEVERTHELESS UNANIMOUS IN AGREEING THAT LOOSE AND INFORMAL BILATERAL CONTACTS WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE USEFUL AND THOUGHT THAT TO MAINTAIN SOME COHERENCE IN WESTERN RANKS, THE MOST APPROPRIATE MECHANISM TO THIS END WOULD BE REGULAR, DISCRETE BILATERAL CONTACTS AND CONSULTATIONS. FINAL FRENCH VIEWS ON ALL ASPECTS OF CSCE IMPLEMENTATION WILL NOT, HOWEVER, BE FULLY DEVELOPED UNTIL LATER THIS MONTH.
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